Use of posture verbs in old Lithuanian writings: A case study of the verb *gulėti* 'lie'

Stāvokļa darbības vārdu lietojums lietuviešu valodas senajos rakstos: darbības vārds gulėti 'gulēt'

Agnė Kuliešienė

Department of Lithuanian Language
Institute of Applied Linguistics
Faculty of Philology, Vilnius University
Universiteto St. 5, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lithuania
E-mail: *agne.lisauskaite@flf.vu.lt*

This paper reports on constructions with the posture verb *gulėti* 'lie' in religious Lithuanian writings of the 16th–19th centuries. The aim of the current study is to offer an overview of the use of these constructions and their grammaticalization potential in the old Lithuanian language. 662 samples were selected from "Evangelijos bei Epistolos" by Bartholomäus Willent, "Ewangelie Polskie y Litewskie" by Jonas Jaknavičius, "Naujos maldų knygelės" and "Naujos giesmių knygos" by Daniel Klein, Johann Jakob Quandt's Bible and "Naujas įstatymas" by Juozapas Arnulfas Giedraitis. The website "Senieji raštai" ("The old Lithuanian writings") of the Research Centre of Written Heritage, the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, was utilised to explore the old writings; the constructions were extracted using the search engine of the website. To analyse the semantics of these constructions, the *FrameNet* system was used. First, the theoretical approach of this study is discussed, and the sources and methods applied are indicated, then, the semantic analysis of the posture verb *gulėti* 'lie' is presented and finally, its grammaticalization potential is examined, followed by conclusions.

Keywords: posture verbs; old Lithuanian writings; frame semantics; grammaticalization; verb *gulėti* 'lie'.

Introduction

The object of this study are the constructions with the posture verb (hereinafter – P-verb) *gulėti* 'lie' found in religious 16th–19th century Lithuanian writings. The study aims to examine the usage of these constructions and their grammaticalization potential in old Lithuanian. John Newman, one of the most famous researchers of P-verbs, claims that these predicates occupy a special place in the class of verbal predicates, because the everyday use of language would be inconceivable without them. He believes

that the main verbs representing this category, namely, *sit*, *stand,* and *lie*, belong to the basic-level categories (Newman 2009, 30).

Newman's view is supported by the linguists at Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, who investigate basic locative constructions of different languages, where predicates *sit*, *stand,* and *lie* hold or used to hold an important place in their locative system, because these verbs often become a diachronic source for copular verbs. It is believed that there are four main types of locative constructions in the languages of the world (type 0: no verb in basic locative construction; type I: single locative verb or suppletion under grammatical conditioning; type II: large or unlimited set of positional verbs; type III: small contrastive set of posture or positional verbs) (Ameka, Levinson 2007, 852–854). Therefore, in general, the verbs *sit*, *stand* and *lie* are an important tool for conceptualizing the human world.

P-verbs have stative meaning, i.e. they indicate 'being in a sitting position' (*sit*), 'being in a standing position' (*stand*) and 'being in a lying position' (*lie*) (Newman 2002, 1). Most researchers (Lemmens 2002; Schönefeld 2006; Newman 2002, 2009, etc.) agree on the anthropocentric nature of P-verbs, i.e. that, prototypically, the Agent of these predicates is a human (Ameka, Levinson 2007, 851).

1. P-verbs through a diachronic lens

P-verbs often become a source of semantic broadening. The meaning of P-predicates can expand to conceptualize the position of entities. In English, this could be illustrated by example (1):

(1)   *The house stands on private property*.

We find this type of constructions in Lithuanian, too:

(2)   *Paprastai   namas   stovi   ant   vyro*
        Usually   house.NOM.SG   stand.PRS.3   on   husband.GEN.SG
        žemės.
        land.GEN.SG
        'Usually, the house stands on the husband's land (T1).'

Clearly, it is not uncommon to expand the canonical meanings of these verbs to indicate the position of inanimate referents. However, in some languages, for example, French, such broadening is restricted – P-verbs can only accompany animate subjects. Although the English language allows for this type of meaning expansion in constructions with inanimate entities, this is also limited (*The computer/printer/ telephone/TV sits on a desk at home*, but *?The mattress is sitting on the floor*). In some languages, the P-verb *sit* often carries the meanings 'stay' and 'live' (Newman 2002, 7). This could be illustrated by Lithuanian constructions containing prefixed forms of the verb *sėdėti*, i.e. *pasėdėti*:

(3)   *Vakare*   *pasėdėkite*   *namuose.*
           Evening.LOC.SG   sit awhile.IMP.2PL   home.LOC.PL
           'Sit awhile (=stay) at home in the evening (T2).'

This construction expresses encouragement to stay a bit more at home, to be in a particular place.

As mentioned before, P-verbs can metaphorically describe the positioning of inanimate objects in space. The prototypical P-verb meaning relates to a stable and compact posture of a person and these properties are also retained in the metaphorical use. First of all, P-verbs can be used to talk about both people and objects, and indicate stable relations, in which an entity occupies a particular place and takes compact spatial configuration. Later, a certain schematized conception emerges, which develops to a point where the verb only indicates that an entity is involved in static relations, which could be of any kind. Given that such a linguistic unit no longer has concrete content, it ends up acquiring a grammatical meaning (Langacker 2011, 82).

Since P-verbs are subject to grammaticalization, which is often driven by semantic change, we can identify typical grammaticalization directions for specific P-verbs based on the data gathered from different languages:

> *sit* > progressive marker, present marker, habitual marker, copula, locative marker (indicates being in or near place), concessive marker; counter-expectation marker
> *stand* > progressive marker, durative marker, present marker, ingressive marker, copula, distributive
> *lie* > habitual marker, progressive marker

Figure 1. Grammaticalization directions of P-verbs (based on Newman, Rice 2004, 354)

Figure 1 shows that, in some languages, these predicates can perform auxiliary function and be used as grammatical tense-aspect-modality markers (Newman 2002, 12). For instance, the Spanish verb *estar*, which comes from the Latin word *stare* meaning 'stand', 'not move', 'be stable', conveys progressive and durative aspects (Newman 2002, 15).

> Researchers distinguish four grammaticalization stages of P-verbs:
> Human bodily posture verbs → canonical encoding of spatial position of objects → continuous (with inanimate subjects) → continuous (with both inanimate and animate subjects)

Figure 2. Stages of P-verb grammaticalization (based on Heine, Kuteva 2002, 194)

The sequence of grammaticalization stages showed in Figure 2 implies that P-verbs can convey aspectual meanings only if they can refer to spatial positioning of animate or inanimate entities (c.f. Song 2004, 379).

It is common for the verbs *sit*, *stand,* and *lie* to become *be*-type predicates, which indicate the continuation of relations or specified complements in time: these verbs are used not only in the progressive constructions discussed above, but also in locative and durative constructions. Such aspectual usage of these verbs (usually, durative, or progressive) is characteristic of Dutch and Scandinavian languages.

2. Use of P-verb *gulėti* 'lie' in the modern Lithuanian language

To analyse how the semantics of the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' has evolved or remained unchanged over time, it is useful to discuss how this verb is used in contemporary Lithuanian language. According to the "Dictionary of the Standard Lithuanian Language" (hereinafter – BLKŽ), which reflects the lexicon of the functioning language and the correct usage of standard language words, the verb *gulėti* 'lie' can be used in the following meanings:

1. To rest on something with your entire body:

(4) *Jis*   *guli*   *lovoje*   *ant*   *nugaros.*
     3SG.NOM.M   lie.PRS.3   bed.LOC.SG   on   back.GEN.SG
     'He is lying in bed on his back.'

2. To have a place, to be somewhere (about objects):

(5) *Knyga*   *guli*   *ant*   *stalo.*
     Book.NOM.SG   lie.PRS.3   on   table.GEN.SG
     'The book is lying on the table.'

3. To be bent to the ground, overturned:

(6) *Rugiai*   *gul*ėjo   *po*   *audros.*
     Rye.NOM.PL   lie.PST.3   after   storm.GEN.SG
     'The rye was lying after the storm.'

4. To be treated (in hospital, etc.):

(7) *Jis*   *seniai*   *guli*   *ligoninėje.*
     3SG.NOM.M   a while   lie.PRS.3   hospital.LOC.SG
     'He has been in hospital for a while.'

5. To sleep, to spend the night:

(8) *Kur*   *mieste*   *gulėsi?*
     Where   town.LOC.SG   lie.FUT.2
     'Where are you going to lie in town?'

6. To fall, to stand:

(9) *Jos*   *plaukai*   *gražiai*   *guli.*
     3SG.GEN.F   hair.NOM.PL   nicely   lie.PRS.3
     'Her hair lies nicely.'

As can be seen from the definitions given in the BLKŽ, the verb in question can be used not only in its main meaning (1), i.e. to indicate that a living subject occupies a horizontal position on a flat surface. As shown above in the examples of other languages, the meaning of the predicate in question is expanded to refer to the spatial location of inanimate objects (2). The other meanings given in the dictionary also reflect metaphorical or metonymic uses of the verb *gulėti* 'lie'.

The verb in question can also be found in idioms:

(10)   *Ant   lentos   gulėti.*
       On   board.GEN.SG   lie.INF
       'To be dead and lie in a coffin.'

(11)   *Ant   širdies   guli.*
       On   heart.GEN.SG   lie.PRS.3
       'To worry, excite, concern.'

(12)   *Gulintis   policininkas.*
       Lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M   policeman.NOM.SG.
       'A speed bump.'

(13)   *Mirties   patale   gulėti.*
       Death.GEN.SG   bed.LOC.SG   lie.INF
       'To be terminally ill and getting worse.'

Therefore, in the contemporary Lithuanian language, the verb *gulėti* 'lie' is used in a lexical sense and does not become a grammatical unit.

3.   Materials and methods

The corpus of this study consists of religious Lithuanian writings of the 16th–19th centuries. "Evangelijos bei Epistolos" by Bartholomäus Willent (VEE) was selected to represent the 16th century, "Ewangelie Polskie y Litewskie" by Jonas Jaknavičius (JE1647), "Naujos maldų knygelės" (KlM) and "Naujos giesmių knygos" (KlNG) by Daniel Klein account for the 17th century, Johann Jakob Quandt's Bible (B1735 ST, NT1727, Ps1728) was picked from the 18th century texts and the 19th century is represented by "Naujas įstatymas" by Juozapas Arnulfas Giedraitis (GNI). Samples were extracted from the website "Senieji raštai" ("The old Lithuanian writings") of the Research Centre of Written Heritage, the Institute of the Lithuanian Language. The user can type in a part of a lexeme and an asterix (*gul**) in the search box and the system then displays the lines where the lexeme is used in its various forms. Since samples are generated automatically, the forms *gulti* and *guldyti*, which indicate a change of posture instead of a stable position, had to be removed from the corpus of the study. The sample of the material was determined by the limited number of the old Lithuanian writings available in the electronic search of the website *Senieji raštai*. A total of 662 samples of the verb *gulėti* 'lie' were analysed; their quantitative distribution in the old texts is detailed in Table 1:

Century	Source	Constructions with the verb *gulėti* 'lie'
16th	VEE	6
	JE1647	15
17th	KlM	6
	KlNG	28
	B1735 ST	320
18th	NT1727	30
	Ps1728	12
19th	GNI	245

Table 1. *Gulėti* 'lie' occurrences in the old religious writings included in the study

To achieve the aim set for this piece of research, which is to describe the use and grammaticalization potential of the verb *gulėti* 'lie' in the written Lithuanian of the 16th–19th centuries, the descriptive method is adopted for the analysis of these samples. As the gathered data is analysed from a linguistic angle, the qualitative linguistic analysis is carried out. The semantics of the P-verb is dissected following the frame semantics methodology, specifically, the frame description system *FrameNet* (more on frame semantics and research that uses this methodology, q.v. Lisauskaitė, Zubaitienė 2019, 106–108; Lisauskaitė 2020, 1–19). When the title of a situation or a word instantiating a particular frame is entered in the search box of this system, it directs the user to a description, which gives the definition of the frame and lists the core and non-core frame elements. There are often examples illustrating the frame elements, as well as other frames, which relate to the situation being investigated in some way (inherit from another frame, for example) provided. At the bottom of the description, one can find a list of lexical units, i.e. various parts of speech that evoke the frame. In the instances, where the situations analysed in the samples of the study did not correspond with any descriptions in the frame data base or were not found in the data base at all, the author of this paper relied on her own judgement.

4. Use of the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie' in the 16th–19th century texts

4.1. Semantics of the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie'

The *FrameNet* system defines the conceptual Posture situation as an Agent supporting their body in a particular Location. The lexical units of this frame can convey a specific body part, which functions as a Point of contact where the Agent is supported, also, define the body's orientation and the overall arrangement of the limbs (especially the legs) and the torso. Consequently, the core frame elements are the Agent, the Location, and the Point of contact.

Core frame elements	Definition
Agent	An individual whose body is in a particular posture. Generally expressed as the subject of the predicate.
Point of contact	The part of the body that provides support to the Agent's body in the posture.
Location	A description of the position of the Agent. The Location of the Agent is frequently expressed as a prepositional phrase complement.

Table 2. Core POSTURE frame elements and their definitions (available from: https:// framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Posture)

The P-frame can also involve non-core elements: Degree, Duration, Manner, Purpose, etc. At the bottom of the frame description, lexical units, which evoke a given situation are listed. Besides the object of this study, the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie', the system suggests other lexical units such as *stand*, *sit*, *crouch*, *huddle*, *hunch*, *kneel*, *stoop*, etc. Each lexical unit has a link next to it to a lexical entry report containing a description of a given lexeme. For example, the verb *lie* means 'to be in a horizontal position on a supporting surface'. Then, the core and non-core elements of the situation evoked by this verb are provided and their syntactic realisation is indicated. In the case of the verb *lie*, the Agent of this lexical unit is realised with a noun phrase (NP. Ext) in 46 English sentences (out of 48) and is omitted (CNI) in the remaining two (more on CNI q.v. Ruppenhofer et al. 2016, 29). As mentioned before, in English, the Location is usually expressed by prepositional phrases (PP), there are instances where this element remains unexpressed (INI), and it can also be realised with adverbial phrases (AVP) and *Wh*-clauses (Sinterrog) (more on INI q.v. Ruppenhofer et al. 2016, 28–29; more on *Wh*-clauses q.v. Kim, Sells 2008, 194). The Point of contact is usually incorporated in the semantics of the verb itself (INC), and its formal expression is not detailed separately; however, it is possible to come across some cases when this frame element is realised with a prepositional phrase (PP). Finally, the valence patterns, i.e. various combinations of frame elements and their syntactic realisation, are provided at the end of each lexical entry report. It is also worth mentioning that the general frame description claims the P-frame to be related to the State frame.

The analysis of religious Lithuanian writings of the 16th–19th centuries shows that most constructions with the verb *gulėti* 'lie' are used in their main lexical meaning, i.e. they mark the position of a person or an animal in space (N.B., as the code for minuscule letters <a> and <e> with short diagonal stroke could not be generated, these symbols in the samples from old Lithuanian writings are represented here by letters <ą> and <ę>):

(14) *Ir   ateia   skubei /   ir   atrada   Marije   ir*
      And   come.PST.3   with haste   and   find.PST.3   Mary.ACC.SG and
      Iosefa   ir   berneli   *prakarte*   **gulinti**. (VEE Lk 2, 16)
      Joseph.ACC.SG   and   boy.ACC.SG manger.LOC.SG lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.M
      'And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.' (KJV)

(15) *[..] jie*   *[ʒmonû*   *waikai]*   **gul**   *ir*
     3PL.NOM.M   man.GEN.PL   child.NOM.PL   lie.PRS.3   and
     miegt   *uʒ wis*   *ſu*   *pakájumi*   /   *neſang*
     sleep.PRS.3   always   with   peace.INS.SG   because
     tu   *Wiéspatie*   *gélbſi-jůs*   *jcib*
     2SG.NOM.M   Lord.VOC.SG   deliver.PRS.2-3PL.ACC.M   so that
     draſey   *ir*   *nieko*
     fearlessly   and   anybody.GEN.SG
     ne pakrutinti   *ſawo*
     not_disturb.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.PL.M   POSS.RFL
     namélůſe   *giwėntu.* (KlM 166(XL)₁₃)
     home.LOC.PL   live.SUP.3

'[..] they [children of men] always lie asleep in peace / because you, my Lord, deliver them, so that they live in their homes fearless and without anybody disturbing them.'

(16) *O*   *jis*   *ißwárẹs,*   *wiſſus*   *ėme*
     And   3SG.NOM.M   put out.PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.SG.M   all.ACC.PL   take.PST.3
     ſu   *ſawim*   *tėwą,*   *ir*   *mótiną*   *kudikio,*
     with   himself   father.ACC.SG   and   mother.ACC.SG   infant.GEN.SG
     ir   *tus,*   *kurrie*   *pas*   *jř*   *buwo,*   *ir*   *ėėjo,*
     and   those   that.NOM.PL   with   3SG.ACC.M   be.PST.3   and   enter.PST.3
     kur   *kúdikis*   **gullėjo**. (B1735 NT Mk 5, 40)
     where   infant.NOM.SG   lie.PST.3

'But when he had put them all out, he taketh the father and the mother of the damsel, and them that were with him, and entereth in where the damsel was lying.' (KJV)

(17) *Ir*   *buwo*   *nekursay*   *pawargelis*   *wardu*
     And   be.PST.3   certain.NOM.SG   beggar.NOM.SG   named
     Lazaras,   *kuris*   **gułejo**   *pas*   *jo*
     Lazarus.NOM.SG   which.NOM.SG   lie.PST.3   at   3SG.GEN.M
     wartus   *skauduleys*   *aptektas*. (GNI Lk 16, 20)
     gate.ACC.PL   sore.INS.PL   cover.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M

'And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, [..]' (KJV)

In all these examples (14–17), the Agent is a human being (*berneli* 'boy'; *[..] jie [ʒmonû waikai]* 'they [children of men]'; *kúdikis* 'infant'; *Lazaras* 'Lasarus'), realised with a noun or a pronoun. Examples (14) and (17) have the Location directly expressed with a prepositional phrase (*pas jo wartus* 'at his gate') and a locative (*prakarte* 'in a manger'). The context of the Gospel of Mark in sentence (16) implies that the Location element could be expressed by a lexeme referring to the manger. In the given sentences, the Point of contact is implied in the semantics of the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie', and, therefore, is not indicated explicitly. Prototypically, the back part of the body (especially the back) performs the function of the Point of contact.

As the given examples demonstrate, the old 16th–19th century Lithuanian already featured metaphorical usage of the P-verb alongside its main meaning, i.e. *gulėti* 'lie' was used to conceptualize the position or the location of an inanimate object. In the following examples, the verb indicates the spatial positioning of inanimate entities (*mieſtas* 'city; *akmenui* 'stone'; *ábaʒas* 'camp/host'; *kraszta Kretos* 'land/haven of Crete'):

(18) *Yūs*   *eſte*   *ſchwieſibe*   *ſwieta.*
2PL.NOM.M   be.PRS.2   light.NOM.SG   world.GEN.SG
Negal   *mieſtas*   /   *kurſai*   *ant*   *kalna*
not be able.PRS.3PL   city.NOM.SG   that.NOM.SG   on   hill.GEN.SG
gul   /   *paſſiſlept.* (VEE Mt 5, 14)
lie.PRS.3   hide.INF
'Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' (KJV)

(19) *Tréćʒą*   *dieną*   *ape*   *außrą*   ***Gullint***
Third.ACC.SG   day.ACC.SG   around   dawn.ACC.SG   lie.GER.PRS
akmenui   *ant*   *graba*   /   *Kėle-ſi*   *Kriſtus*
stone.DAT.SG   on   sepulchre.GEN.SG   rise.PST.3-RFL   Christ.NOM.SG
be   *warga*   /   *Allel.* (KlNG 104$_{23}$)
without   trouble.GEN.SG   Hallelujah
'On the third day around dawn, with the stone lying on the sepulchre, / Christ rose without trouble / Hallelujah.'

(20) *Ir*   *ábaʒas*   *Midianitû*   *ʒemmay*   ***gullėjo***   *po*
And   host.NOM.SG   Midian.GEN.PL   below   lie.PST.3   beneath
jo   *akkiû*   *pakalneje.* (B1735 ST Jg 7, 8)
3SG.GEN.M   eye.GEN.PL   valley.LOC.SG
'And the host of Midian was beneath him in the valley.' (KJV)

(21) *Potam*   *jie*   *tráukie-s*   *iß*   *cʒe*   *prieß*
Then   3PL.NOM.M   hasten.PST.3-RFL   from   here   to
Scytû   *mieſtą,*   *apie*   *ßeßis*   *ßimtus*
Scythopolis.GEN.SG   city.ACC.SG   about   six.ACC   hundred.ACC
warſnû   *nů*   *Ieruʒalês*   ***gullinti.*** (B1735 2 Mc 12, 29)
furlong.GEN.PL   from   Jerusalem.GEN.SG   lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.M
'Setting out from there, they hastened to Scythopolis, which is seventy-five miles from Jerusalem.' (RSV)

(22) *[..] jey*   *kaypo*   *gałetu,*   *pripłaukę*   *ing*
If   by any means   might,   reach.PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.PL.M   to
Fenicen   *parʒiemawoti*   *pas*   *kraszta*   *Kretos*
Phenice.ACC.SG   winter.INF   in   land.ACC.SG   Crete.GEN.SG
gulinti   *priesz*   *Afrika*
lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.M   facing   Africa.ACC.SG
ir   *Kora.* (GIN Acts 27, 12)
and   Corinth.ACC.SG
'[..] if by any means they might attain to Phenice, and there to winter; which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south west and north west.' (KJV)

Examples (18), (21) and (22) demonstrate that the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie' could take a subject referring to a town or land in the old writings. Such constructions of this verb and lexemes indicating a town or land, which express the existence of an inanimate entity in a particular place are not possible in the contemporary Lithuanian. For instance, **Miestas / kraštas **guli** prie jūros*: Eng. *The city/land lies next to the sea* type of construction is not used in the standard Lithuanian in this meaning. For such purposes, it is more common to use the verb *stovėti* 'stand' or a generic verb *būti* 'be' in the standard language (*Senovinis miestas **stovėjo / buvo** apie 8 km į rytus nuo Nilo deltos*: Eng. *The ancient town stood/was about 8 km to the east of the Nile Delta*). Examples alien to the contemporary Lithuanian might reflect the influence of the source language. For example, the Quandt Bible (see example (20)) was mostly translated following Martin Luther's German Bible. Checking the source text, it was found that the German Bible also contained the verb *liegen* 'lie' taking the object *Heer*, which refers to the camp or the army (the examples (23, 24) are taken from Martin Luther's German Bible, available from: https://www.bibel-online.net/buch/luther_1545_letzte_hand/richter/7/#1):

(23) *Vnd   das   Heer   der   Midianiter*
      And   DEF.NOM.SG.N   Host.NOM.SG   DEF.GEN.PL.M   Midian.GEN.PL
      lag   *drunden   fur   jm*
      lie.PST.3SG   beneath   for   3SG.DAT.M
      im   *grunde*. (Jg 7, 8)
      in-DEF.DAT.SG.N   valley.DAT.SG
      '[..] and the host of was beneath him in the valley.' (KJV)

(24) *Vnd   zogen aus   von   Suchoth   vnd   lagerten sich*
      And   depart.PST.3PL   from   Succoth.DAT.SG   and   pitch.PST.REF.3PL
      *in   Etham /   welchs   **ligt**   an*
      to   Etham.DAT.SG   which.NOM.SG   lie.PRS.3SG   in
      dem   ende   der   wüsten. (Num 33, 6)
      DEF.DAT.SG.N   end.DAT.SG   DEF.GEN.PL.F   wilderness.GEN.PL
      'And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is on the edge of the wilderness.' (KJV)

Therefore, it would be possible to speculate that the usage of the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' joined by a lexeme indicating the camp derives from the German source and that these types of constructions are borrowed in Lithuanian writings. One could interpret previous examples (18), (21) and (22) as representations of German influence, too, because the German verb *liegen* 'lie' often takes words expressing locations, or to be more precise, cities and their names, in their pattern (Jociuvienė 2005, 35). Although "Postilla" by Mikalojus Daukša and "Naujas Testamentas Wieszpaties musu Jezaus Kristaus" by Samuelis Bitneris, both representing the central written language variety, were not included among the sources of this study, it is worth putting them in comparison:

(25)　*[..]　ir　atęio　inġ　ßálɼ　**gúlincʒią**
　　　　　　and　come.PST.3　to　land.ACC.SG　lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.F
　　　　　ąnṫ　úpes　Iordôno [..]. (DP 28,39)
　　　　　on　river.GEN.SG　Jordan.GEN.SG
　　　　'[..] and [they] came to the land lying on the Jordan River [..].'

(26)　*Ir　ißėjo　garſas　jo　greitay　po*
　　　　And　go out.PST.3　fame.NOM.SG　3SG.GEN.M　immediately　throughout
　　　　　*wiſſą　ßálɼ　**gulincʒę***
　　　　all.ACC.SG　land.ACC.SG　lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.F
　　　　　aplink　Galilėos. (BtNT Mk 1,28)
　　　　around　Galilee.GEN.SG
　　　　'And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.' (KJV)

Example (25) is taken from Daukša's *Postilla*, which is a translation based on a Polish postil by Jesuit Jakub Wujek. This occurrence of the verb *gulėti* 'lie' could open a discussion whether the given construction had really come as a loan phrase, or if it could be the case that it was a usual and widely used expression in Lithuanian at that time.

In some other samples, the verb *gulėti* 'lie' instantiates the Death frame, as in Table 3:

This frame describes the death of a Protagonist. A cause of death may also be expressed obliquely.	
Core frame elements	**Definition**
Protagonist	A being or entity that dies.

Table 3. DEATH frame (available at: https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Death)

The verb *gulėti* 'lie' (mostly in the Quandt Bible), alone or accompanied by certain prepositional phrases (*ant ʒémês* 'on the ground'; *po ʒemme* 'under the ground'; *tarp numirruſû* 'among the dead'; *tarp ußmußtujû* 'among the killed'; *pas ſawo tėwus* 'at my parents''), locatives (*atilſije* 'at rest'; *dulkėſa* 'in the dust'; *grabe* 'in the grave'; *pėkloj'* 'in hell'; *ʒémeje* 'in the ground') or predicatives (*pakaſtas* 'buried under the ground'; *paláidotas* 'buried'), activates the Death frame:

(27)　**GUllu**　*paláidotas　graʒey / [..].* (KlNG 454₁₄)
　　　lie.PRS.1　bury.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M　nicely
　　　'I am lying nicely buried [..].'

(28)　*Tenay **gul**　Aſſur,　ſu　wiſſu　ſawo　pulku*
　　　There　lie.PRS.3　Elam.NOM.SG　with　all.INS.SG　POSS.RFL　hordes.INS.SG
　　　aplinkuy　pakaſtas,　kurrie　wiſſi
　　　around　bury.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M　which.NOM.PL　all.NOM.PL
　　　uʒmußti,　ir　kardu　půle. (B1735 ST Ez 32, 24)
　　　slay.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.PL.M　and　sword.INS.SG　fall.PTCP.PST.ACT.NOM.PL.M
　　　'There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, [..].' (KJV)

(29) *Kadangi   mirręſis   jau   atilſije   **gul**,   tai   ir*
Since   dead.NOM.SG   already   rest.LOC.SG   lie.PRS.3   so   and
tu   paláuk   jo   atſiminti,   ir
2SG.NOM   wait.IMP.2SG   3SG.GEN.M   remember.INF   and
ramdyk-is   wėl   dėl   jo,   kadangi   jo
be comforted.IMP.2SG- RFL   again   for   3SG.GEN.M   since   3SG.GEN.M
dwaſe   iß   cʒe   atſtójo. (B1735 Sir 38, 23)
spirit.NOM.SG   from   here   depart.PST.3
'When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance cease, and be comforted for him when his spirit has departed.' (RSV)

(30) *Atejo   tada   Jezus,   ir   rado   ji   keturias*
Come.PST.3   then   Jesus.NOM.SG   and   find.PST.3   3SG.ACC.M   four.ACC
*dienas   jau   grabe   **gulinti**.* (GNI Jn 11, 17)
day.ACC.PL   already   grave.LOC.SG   lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.M
'Then when Jesus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already.' (KJV)

In the given sentences (27–30), the Protagonist function is performed by people (*Aſſur* 'Elam'*, ſu wiſſu ſawo pulku* 'with all her hordes'; *mirręſis* 'the dead'; *ji [Lozorius]* 'he [Lazarus]').

In the old religious writings, the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' also evokes the Medical conditions frame.

This frame indicates medical conditions or diseases that a patient suffers from, is being treated for, may be cured of, or die of.	
Core frame elements	**Definition**
Patient	Entity or population affected by the condition or illness.
Ailment	Any medical problem.

Table 4. MEDICAL CONDITIONS frame (available at: https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frframeInd.xml?frame=Medical_conditions)

The verb is once again used metonymically, i.e. instead of the verb, which would literally mean being unwell, a predicate referring to the prototypical posture of an ill person in bed is used. The Medical conditions frame is evoked when the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie' takes a prepositional phrase (*vnt patało* 'on a bed', *ant Smertiês Pátalo* 'on a deathbed'), locative (*(liggôs) pátale* '[sick] in bed'; *ſopėjimoſe* 'in pain') or participle (*sirgdama* '[while] being sick'):

(31) *A   ßtay   atanesćie   iam   paraliʒium*
And   behold   bring.PST.3   3SG.DAT.M   palsy.INS.SG
*Ißtiktu   vnt   patało   **gulinti**.* (JE1647 Mt 9, 2)
affect.PTCP.PST.PSS.ACC.SG.M   on   bed.GEN.SG   lie.PTCP.PRS.ACT.ACC.SG.M
'And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed: [..].' (KJV)

(32) *Ir   wieno   Wyráuſojo   Ʒalnierû   Bérnas,*
      And   certain.GEN.SG   chief.GEN.SG   officer.GEN.SG   servant.NOM.SG
      gullėjo   *ant   Smertiês Pátalo,*
      lie.PST.3 on   death.GEN.SG   bed.GEN.SG
      Io   mylim's. (NT1727 Lk 7, 2)
      3SG.GEN.M   love.PTCP.PRS.PSS.NOM.SG.M
      'And a certain centurion's servant, who was dear unto him, was sick, and
      ready to die.' (KJV)

(33) *O   uoszwe   Simono   **gułejo***
      And   mother-in-law.NOM.SG   Simon.GEN.SG   lie.PST.3
      karszteys   sirgdama: o   tuojaus   jam
      fever.INS.PL   sick.PTCP.F.SG   and   soon   3SG.DAT.M
      ape-ję   pasakie. (GNI Mk 1, 30)
      about-3SG.ACC.F   tell.PST.3
'   But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and anon they tell him of her.'
      (KJV)

Verses (32) and (33) explicitly express the Patient frame element with possessive constructions *Wyráuſojo Ʒalnierû Bérnas* 'centurion's servant' and *uoszwe Simono* 'Simon's mother-in-law'. Example (31) realises the Patient element with the verbal phrase *paraliʒium ißtiktu* '[a person] struck with palsy', which also entails the Ailment element, i.e. that the person suffers from palsy. Only example (33) has the Ailment element directly expressed; for that, the instrumental *karszteys* 'fever' is used. Verse (32) does not specify the Ailment element.

Some constructions containing the verb *gulėti* 'lie' found in the 18th century Bible evoke the Sex frame.

Participants in a sex act engage in or are subjected to sexual contact.	
Core frame elements	**Definition**
Participant (1)	One party present for sex.
Participant (2)	Another party present for sex.
Participant	The set of entities engaged in or subjected to sexual contact.

Table 5. SEX frame (available at: https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Sex)

As the examples below show, the P-predicate *gulėti* 'lie' becomes a euphemism for sexual activities: instead of directly naming the action, the text metonymically refers to the most common sex position:

(34) *Kad   wyrißkis   pas   moterißkę   **gul**,*
      And   man.NOM.SG   at   woman.ACC.SG   lie.PRS.3
      ję   apwaiſdam's [..]. (B1735 ST Kun 19, 20)
      3SG.ACC.F   impregnate.PTCP.M.SG
      'And whosoever lieth carnally with a woman [..].' (KJV)

(35) *Rytą* *metą* *wyráuʃoji* *ʃáke* *jaunáuʃei:*
Morning.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG eldest.NOM.SG say.PST.3 youngest.DAT.SG
ßtay, *aß* *wákar* **gullėjau** *pas*
behold 1SG.NOM yesterday lie.PST.1 at
ʃawo *tėwą.* (B1735 ST Gen 19, 34)
POSS.RFL father.ACC.SG
'And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger,
Behold, I lay yesternight with my father [..].' (KJV)

Example (34) directly exhibits the Participant (1) element, which is realised with a lexeme *wyrißkis* 'man'. Participant (2) is expressed with a prepositional phrase *pas moterißkę* 'at a woman's', which primarily indicates the location of a sex act. Another example (35) follows the same structure: Participant (1) is realised with the pronoun *aß* 'I', which, based on the Old Testament, refers to one of Lot's daughters, and Participant (2) is expressed through a location-marking prepositional phrase *pas ʃawo tėwą* 'at my father's'.

4.2. Grammaticalization potential of the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie'

As the previous subsection (3.1) demonstrates, so far language data has shown that the Lithuanian predicate *gulėti* 'lie' follows the sequence of grammaticalization stages of P-verbs established by the researchers, making it appropriate to look for samples illustrating other stages of this chain. This study distinguishes the uses of the predicate where *gulėti* 'lie' does not refer to a concrete position of a human being or an inanimate object in space, but is used simply to indicate existence in reality or space:

(36) *[..]* *ir* *kaip* *begunai* **gullėjo** *jie* *po*
  and as nomand.NOM.PL lie.PST.3 3PL.NOM.M under
ʃtogais *užrakinti* *nů*
roof.INS.PL shut.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.PL.M from
amźinôs *ißmintiês.* (B1735 ST Ex 17, 2).
eternal.GEN.SG providence.GEN.SG
'[..] they themselves lay as captives of darkness and prisoners of long night, shut in under their roofs, exiles from eternal providence.' (RSV)

We can tell that example (36) metaphorically refers to nomads, who are (or, speaking in more descriptive terms, lurk) shut in under the roof, but do not necessarily keep a lying position all the time.

Speaking of such cases, we should not forget instances, where the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' goes with a primary predicative, also traditionally called predicative attribute.

(37) *Tadda* *źémei* *ủtiks* *jôs* *ßwentims,*
Then land.DAT.SG enjoy.FUT.3 3SG.GEN.F celebration.NOM.SG
pakóley **púʃta** **gul**, *ir* *jus*
while empty.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.F lie.PRS.3 and 2PL.NOM.M

neprietelû   *ʒémej'*   *efte [..].* (B1735 ST Le 26, 34)
enemy.GEN.PL   land.LOC.SG   be.PRS.2PL
'Shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land [..]' (KJV)

(38)   *Alle*   *prárakas*   *Ieremioßus*   **gullėjo**
       And   prophet.NOM.SG   Jeremiah.NOM.SG   lie.PST.3
       apkált's   *prybuttij'*   *temnycʒôs,*
       confine.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M   court.LOC.SG   prison.GEN.SG
       prie   *nammû*   *káralaus*   *Iuda* (B1735 ST Jer 32, 2)
       near   house.GEN.PL   king.GEN.SG   Judah.GEN.SG
       'For then the king of Babylon's army besieged Jerusalem: and Jeremiah the prophet was shut up in the court of the prison, which was in the king of Judah's house.' (KJV)

Examples (37–38) show that the verb *gulėti* 'lie' takes arguments, which convey a constant and unchanging position (*žemė* 'land', *prárakas Ieremioßus* 'Jeremiah the prophet', etc.); these arguments do not provide any new information about the situation, but only indicate the presence of the subjects in a particular space or reality. In that regard, the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' acts as a copula, whereas the predicative *pustas* 'empty' or *apkaltas* 'confined' carries the main predication of the sentence and provides additional information, i.e. describes the subject of the sentence (in this case, the land and Jeremiah). The verb *gulėti* 'lie', which functions here as a copula, acquires an aspectual meaning, and can mark durativity of the properties expressed by predicatives, i.e. specific subjects are 'empty' or 'confined' for a particular period.

Although the New Testament by Samuel Boguslaus Chylinski was not included among the sources of this study, it is interesting to compare how the same verse in Chylinski's New Testament is phrased:

(39)   *[..]*   *ó*   *eyk*   *Pietump,*   *nog*   *kiala [..]*
            and   go.IMP.2SG   south.ALL.PL   from   road.GEN.SG
            kurſey   *yet*   *nog*   *Jeruʒales*   *Gaʒon,*
            which.NOM.SG   go.PRS.3   from   Jerusalem.GEN.SG   Gaza.ILL.SG
            katras   **ira**   *puſtas.* (ChNT Acts 8,26)
            which.NOM.SG   be.PRS.3   empty.PTCP.PST.PSS.NOM.SG.M
       '[..] and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert.' (KJV)

The excerpt (39) describes an object, which takes a permanent position, except that, in this case, the predicative goes with a copula *ira* 'is', typical for the contemporary Lithuanian language, performing the auxiliary function.

One could argue that, in Lithuanian, the P-verb grammaticalization is the most obvious in permissive and imperative constructions, which consist of the particle *tegul* or *tegu* and present indicative or future indicative forms. Researchers investigating the Lithuanian language agree that this particle evolved from the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie'

(*tegul*, *tegu*) (Stang 1942, 245; Palionis 1967, 140; Kazlauskas 1968, 380; Zinkevičius 1981, 136).

(40) *[..] tad kurie Iudeoy ira / **tegul***
      so which.NOM.PL Judaea.LOC.SG be.PRS.3 let
      bega vnt kałnu: (JE1647 Mt 24, 16)
      run.PRS.3 on mountain.GEN.PL
      'Then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains: [..]' (KJV)

(41) *[..] priimk jo pakluſnumą ßwentą /*
      accept.IMP.2SG he.GEN.SG obedience.ACC.SG holy.ACC.SG
      jo kentėjimą ir ſmerti nekalta
      3SG.GEN.M suffering.ACC.SG and death.ACC.SG innocent.ACC.SG
      *uʒu mano griekus / tie **tegul** uʒmoka taw;* (KlM 147₂)
      for POSS sin.ACC.PL those let pay.PRS.3 2SG.DAT
      '[..] accept his holy obedience / his suffering and innocent death for my sins, / let those pay you.'

(42) *Aß tarrau ſawo ßirdije: **Tegul**,*
      1SG.NOM say.PST.3 POSS.RFL heart.LOC.SG let
      aß noru linkſmay gywent,
      1SG.NOM want.PRS.3 cheerfully live.INF
      ir gerras dienas turret [..]. (B1735 ST Eccles 2, 1)
      and good.ACC.PL day.ACC.PL have.INF
      'I said in mine heart, go to now, I will prove thee with mirth, therefore enjoy pleasure [..].' (KJV)

(43) *[..] Jey kas nor paskuy manes eyti,*
      If whosoever.NOM.SG want.PRS.3 after 1SG.GEN.M go.INF
      ***tegul** pats sawęs uʒsigina, o **tegul** ima*
      let himself.GEN.SG deny.PRS.3 and let take up.PRS.3
      *kriʒiu sawo, ir **tegul***
      cross.ACC.SG POSS.RFL and let
      sekia manę. (GNI Mk 8, 34)
      follow.PRS.3 1SG.ACC.M
      '[..] Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.' (KJV)

As one can see, examples of such constructions are found as early as in the 17th century writings. It is likely that these constructions were frequently used to the point of their semantic meaning fading away, which resulted in the verb moving to the particle class and the form undergoing a phonological reduction and abbreviation.

Conclusions

The analysis of the constructions with the verb *gulėti* 'lie' in religious Lithuanian writings of the 16th–19th century revealed that the frames this predicate can activate are not limited to the prototypical posture frame. Metaphorical uses of the verb are found as far back as in the 16th century texts: the said predicate is used to indicate the location of an inanimate object. The investigation has also shown that the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' activates the Death, Medical conditions, and Sex frames. These frames are quite often realised as a wider grammatical model rather than with a single P-verb *gulėti* 'lie', i.e. the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' takes certain arguments, and the resulting construction then evokes a particular frame.

It was found that the P-verb *gulėti* 'lie' used to be able to take a subject referring to a town or land, which is uncommon in the current use of this verb in Lithuanian. Although these types of constructions are known in Germanic languages, similar examples were also found in central variety texts, which were not translated from Germanic source texts, hence, the influence of the source language remains in question.

There were some instances where the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' went with a primary predicative. In such cases, the verb *gulėti* 'lie' takes arguments, which express a constant and unchanging position: they do not provide new information to the user, but only indicate the existence of the subject in space or reality. That means that the predicate *gulėti* 'lie' acts as a copula and the predicative expresses the main predication and describes the subject of the sentence.

The clearest case of P-verb grammaticalization in Lithuanian can be seen in permissive and imperative constructions consisting of the particle *tegul* or *tegu* and present indicative or future indicative forms.

Further research could be enriched with a quantitative analysis of these constructions, as well as include more sources or other two main P-verbs *sėdėti* 'sit' and *stovėti* 'stand'.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	person
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
ALL	allative
AVP	adverbial phrase
BLKŽ	*Dictionary of the Standard Lithuanian Language*
B1735 ST	Johann Jakob Quandt's Bible
CNI	constructional null instantiation
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
GNI	*Naujas įstatymas* by Juozapas Arnulfas Giedraitis

ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INC	incorporated
INF	infinitive
INI	indefinite null instantiation
INS	instumental
JE1647	*Ewangelie Polskie y Litewskie* by Jonas Jaknavičius
KJV	King James Version
KlM	*Naujos maldų knygelės* by Daniel Klein
KlNG	*Naujos giesmių knygos* by Daniel Klein
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NT1727	Johann Jakob Quandt's Bible
PL	plural
POS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
PRS	present
PSS	passive
PST	past
Ps1728	Johann Jakob Quandt's Bible
PTCP	participle
P-verb	posture verb
RFL	reflexive
RSV	*Revised Standard Version*
SG	singular
SUP	supine
T	examples from *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas*
VEE	*Evangelijos bei Epistolos* by Bartholomäus Willent
VOC	vocative

Sources

1. *Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas.* Available at: https://ekalba.lt/bendrines-lietuviu-kalbos-zodynas/.
2. *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas.* Available at: http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas.
3. *FrameNet*. Available at: https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/.
4. *King James Version of the Bible (1611)*. Available at: https://www.biblegateway.com
5. *Martin Luther's Bible (1545)*. Available at: https://www.bibel-online.net.
6. *Revised Standard Version of the Bible (1952)*. Available at: https://www.bibel-online.net.
7. *Senieji raštai*. Available at: http://sr.lki.lt/Index.asp.

References

1. Ameka, Felix, K., Levinson, Stephen, C. 2007. Introduction: The typology and semantics of locative predicates, posturals, positionals and other beasts. *Linguistics*. 45(5), 847–871. https://doi.org/10.1515/LING.2007.025

2. Heine, Bernd, Kuteva, Tania. 2002. *Word Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613463

3. Hilpert, Martin, Koops, Christian. 2008. A quantitative approach to the development of complex predicates: The case of Swedish pseudo-coordination with *sitta* 'sit'. *Diachronica*. 252(2), 240–259. https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.25.2.06hil

4. Hilpert, Martin. 2011. Grammaticalization in Germanic languages. *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Heine, Bernd, Narrog, Heiko (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 708–719. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199586783.001.0001

5. Jociuvienė, Violeta. 2005. Padėties erdvėje raiškos vokiečių ir lietuvių kalbose gretinimas (veiksmažodžiai LIEGEN ir GULĖTI). *Filologija*. 10, 31–41.

6. Kazlauskas, Jonas. 1968. *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika*. Vilnius: Mintis.

7. Kim, Jon-Bok, Sells, Peter. 2008. *English Syntax: An Introduction*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information Publications.

8. Langacker, Ronald, Wayne. 2011. Grammaticalization and cognitive grammar. *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Heine, Bernd, Narrog, Heiko (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79–92. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199586783.001.0001

9. Lemmens, Maarten. 2002. The semantic network of Dutch posture verbs. *The Linguistics of Sitting, Standing and Lying. Typological Studies in Language*. 51. Newman, John (ed.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 103–139. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.51

10. Lesuisse, Mégane, Lemmens, Maartin. 2018. Grammaticalisation cut short: A diachronic constructional view on English posture verbs. *Grammaticalisation Meets Construction Grammar*. Coussé, Evie, Andersson, Peter, Olofsson, Joel (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 43–73. https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.21

11. Lisauskaitė, Agnė, Zubaitienė, Vilma. 2019. Aktyvios veiklos veiksmažodžių semantika Kristijono Donelaičio „Metuose". *Respectus Philologicus*. 35 (40), 102–120. https://doi.org/10.15388/RESPECTUS.2019.35.40.07

12. Lisauskaitė, Agnė. 2020. Veiksmažodžio „eiti" konstrukcijos XVI a. lietuvių kalbos raštuose. *Lietuvių kalba*. 15, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.15388/LK.2020.22447

13. Newman, John. 2002. A cross-linguistic overview of the posture verbs 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie'. *The Linguistics of Sitting, Standing and Lying. Typological Studies in Language*. 51. Newman, John (ed.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.51

14. Newman, John, Rice, Sally. 2004. Patterns of usage for English SIT, STAND, and LIE: A cognitively-inspired exploration in corpus linguistics. *Cognitive Linguistics*. 15(3), 351–396. https://doi.org/10.7939/R33C6V

15. Newman, John. 2009. English posture verbs. An experientially grounded approach. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*. 7, 30–58. https://doi.org/10.1075/arcl.7.02new

16. Palionis, Jonas. 1967. *Lietuvių literatūrinė kalba XVI–XVII a*. Vilnius: Mintis.

17. Ruppenhofer, Josef et al. 2016. *FrameNet II: Extended Theory and Practice*. Berkeley, California: International Computer Science Institute. Available at: https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/docs/r1.7/book.pdf

18. Saulytis, Giedrius. 2018. Pirmieji Šventojo Rašto vertimai į lietuvių kalba: teologinė perspektyva. *Metai*. 8–9. Available at: https://www.zurnalasmetai.lt/?p=3135

19. Schönefeld, Doris. 2006. From conceptualization to linguistic expression: Where languages diversify. *Corpora in Cognitive Linguistics: Corpus-Based Approaches to Syntax and Lexis*. Gries, Stephan, Th., Stefanowitsch, Anatol (eds.). Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 297–344. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197709

20. Song, Jae, Jung. 2004. The posture verbs in Korean. *The Linguistics of Sitting, Standing, and Lying. Typological Studies in Language.* 51. Newman, John (ed.). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 359–387. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.51

21. Stang, Schweigaard, Christian. 1942. *Das slavische und baltische Verbum*. Oslo: I kommisjon hos Jacob Dybwad.

22. Zinkevičius, Zigmas. 1981. *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika.* 2. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Kopsavilkums

Pētījuma objekts ir konstrukcijas ar stāvokļa darbības vārdu *gulėti* 'gulēt' lietuviešu valodas reliģiskajos rakstos 16.–19. gs. Pētījuma mērķis ir apskatīt šo konstrukciju lietojumu un gramatizēšanās pakāpi senajā lietuviešu valodā.

Kopumā atlasīti 662 piemēri no Baltramiejus Vilenta (*Baltramiejus Vilentas*) „Evaņģēlijiem un epistulām" („Evangelijos bei Epistolos"), Jona Jankaviča (*Jonas Jankavičius*) „Poļu un lietuviešu evaņģēlijiem" („Ewangelie Polskie y Litewskie"), Daniela Kleina (*Danielius Kleinas*) „Jaunās lūgšanu grāmatas" („Nauja maldų knygelė|") un „Jaunās dziesmu grāmatas" („Nauja giesmių knyga"), Jona Jokūba Kvanta (*Jonas Jokūbas Kvantas*) Bībeles un Jozapa Arnulfa Giedraita (*Juozapas Arnulfas Giedraitis*) „Jaunās derības" („Naujas įstatymas"). Pētot senos tekstus, izmantota Lietuviešu valodas institūta Rakstniecības mantojuma pētniecības centra tīmekļa vietne „Senie raksti" („Senieji raštai"): konstrukcijas meklētas šīs tīmekļa vietnes meklēšanas sistēmā. Analizējot semantiku konstrukcijām ar pētāmo darbības vārdu, izmantota *FrameNet* sistēma. Vispirms šajā darbā apskatīta pētījuma teorētiskā pieeja, norādīti avoti un izmantotās metodes, pēc tam sniegta stāvokļa darbības vārda *gulėti* 'gulēt' semantikas analīze, beigās norādītas šī darbības vārda gramatizēšanās iespējas. Nobeigumā formulēti secinājumi.

Atslēgvārdi: stāvokļa darbības vārdi; lietuviešu valodas senie raksti; ietvara semantika; gramatizēšanās; darbības vārds *gulēt*.